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Bankers, bondholders and the Bolsheviks

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BANKERS BONDHOLDERS AND BOLSHEVIKS

BY
J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD, M.A.

This pamphlet is an eye-opener on the war against Russia. It gives startling facts about the financial powers in Great Britain interested in the overthrow of the Russian Revolution.

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY,
8 and 9, Johnson's Cour, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.
1919.
2d.

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Bankers, Bondholders and Bolsheviks.

RUSSIA, an absolute monarchy with no parliamentary institutions whatsoever until recently, was a very heavy borrower throughout the whole of the nineteenth century. During half that time she had no free peasantry and, hence, no development of commodity production and no consequent monetary resources. Only since 1890 have her industries become of any appreciable importance and only during the present century has capitalism acquired a proper foothold in the country. Hence her economic conditions, as well as her political system, have caused her to pile up an immense foreign debt. For the equipment of her military and naval establishments, for the erection and development of ordnance works, shipyards and small arms factories; for the construction of railways to promote trade and to facilitate the movement of troops; for these and other purposes necessary to the State the Russian Government had to contract with the manufacturing and commercial magnates of Western Europe. Subsequent to its alliance with France, Tzardom borrowed enormously from the great French banks such as the Crédit Lyonnais (to which exclusive rights were given denied to other foreign houses), the Société Générale de Paris and the Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris.

From 1878 until 1906, Russian loans found little favour in the sight of the British Foreign Office, though Messrs. Baring Bros., C. J. Hambro and Son, and N. M. Rothschild and Sons were responsible for placing a proportion of most of the bond issues on the London market. From 1906 onwards, Russian bond issues have found great favour in the eyes of the Foreign Office and Russian concessions as well as naval, military, and railroad contracts, have stimulated the zeal of both private issuing houses and the big banks, each and all maintaining close relations with mining engineering, and allied industrialists. To Imperial borrowings have been added municipal demands particularly from Moscow, Baku, Saratoff, and other cities.

Prior to the war, the Russian Government had obtained loans from foreign countries (Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam,

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London and New York) whose outstanding amount at the present time, according to details given in the *Stock Exchange Year Book*, 1919, is about £398,663,883. Besides this sum, there was an internal issue of *Rentes*, some of which seem to have been acquired by foreign interests, of about £238,000,000. According to an estimate given by Mr. Arthur Raffalovitch, President of the Russian Chamber of Commerce in Paris, and formerly Financial Attaché at the Russian Embassy in that city, on page 408 of his book, *Russia: Its Trade and Commerce* (May, 1918). Russia's war credits on foreign money markets, *i.e.*, her borrowings abroad, from October, 1914, to October, 1916, amounted to 9,410,000,000 roubles, or, approximately, £940,000,000. These added together give a figure of something like £1,600,000,000. The foreign liabilities of Russia were placed at 16,000,000,000 roubles, or about £1,600,000,000, by the Journal of the Russo-British Chamber of Commerce in its February issue. The same organ remarked in doing so that "no one doubts the ability of the country as a whole to meet its foreign liabilities." Such, apparently, was the view of "certain issuing houses and banking institutions," which, "in March, 1918, agreed together for the protectio of holders of such Russian Government, municipal and railway guaranteed bonds as were domiciled with them." (*Stock Exchange Year Book*, 1919. p. 143.)

Calling in the "Bums."

These firms appointed the following as a committee to watch their interests :

> Lord Revelstoke (Baring Bros. and Co., Ltd.), chairman; Lionel de Rothschild (N. M. Rothschild and Sons), Hon. H. R. Brand (Lloyds Bank, Ltd.), Walter Leaf (London County Westminster and Parrs Bank, Ltd.), Sir Everard Hambro (C. J. Hambro and Son), Sir R. Kindersley (Lazard Bros. and Co.), R. G. H. Boulton (Boulton Bros. and Co.), C. Birch Crisp (since deceased) (Anglo-Russian Trust), W. Kock de Gooreynd (Panmure, Gordon and Co.), L. W. Lodge (Campion and Co.).

Besides these banks and their representatives, the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders has been active and, in June of last year, held a special meeting in the city for those interested in Russia, addressed by Dr. Soskice, late private secretary to Mr. Kerensky, who, five days later, made his dramatic appearance at another gathering, the Labour Party Conference. The banker went East to "the City," the politician went West to talk to "Labour."

The Corporation of Foreign Bondholders has upon its Council, amongst others :

> Viscount Goschen (London County Westminster and Parrs Bank Ltd.), C. E. Barnett (Lloyds Bank, Ltd.), Sir F. Banbury, M.P., Lord Faber (London County Westminster and Parrs Bank, Ltd.), W. R. Malcolm (Coutts and Co.), A. Serena (Anglo-Maikop Corporation, Ltd.).

All these, with the improbable exception of Sir Frederick Banbury, represent parties greatly interested in Russian bonds, stocks and shares.

Long established foreign bankers, such as the Barings, Hambros, Lazards and Rothschilds; reputable private houses, like Hoares, Coutts, and Glyn, Mills, Currie and Co., with their royal and aristocratic connections, are particularly concerned to reimpose their tribute of 4 per cent and 5 per cent., *per annum*, upon the Russian people. It is not enough for them and for their parasitic clients that for twenty, forty, sixty, and even eighty years they have drawn interest out of peasantry and proletariat, and that 6,000,000 Russian soldiers have died fighting Germany in their cause. They, in common with the French moneylenders and the American financiers, who have taken French holdings of Russian script in payment of debts contracted with them, clamour for their principal and for continuing years of regular interest rendering.

All of them, tormented by the frightful burden of taxation which they see impending, fearful of debt repudiation by the toiling masses of their own countries, these exploiters of the Entente shudder as they go over their ledgers and, coming to "Russian account," read : *"Interest due June*, 1918, *and since in arrears."*—(*Stock Exchange Year Book*, 1919.)

An Economic Battlefield.

But the holders of bonds already issued and outstanding are by no means the only people who are desirous, from a sheerly material standpoint, of securing the overthrow of Socialism in Russia and—for that matter—in Hungary or anywhere else it may come to power. They are not the only people who desire the re-establishment of the property system and the Tzarist regime. Mere claims upon Russia for the settlement of old debts might ot in themselves prove an insuperable obstacle to peace with and recognition of the Soviet Republic. The traders of money, having a stake already in the solvency of the country, are reinforced and supplemented by an even more dangerous element who crave

the fullest opportunity and the most unrestricted right to develop and to exploit :

> Russia, with her 180,000,000 of people, with her fertile soil stretching from Central Europe across Asia to the shores of the Pacific and from the Arctic down to the Persian Gulf and the Black Sea . . . market possibilities as such as even the most optimistic dared not dream of. . . . Russia, potentially and actually—the granary, the fishery, the lumber-yard, the coal, gold, silver and platinum mine of the world.—(*Japan Salesman*, November, 1918.)

The dominant factors in modern capitalism and hence in the political life of the foremost capitalist countries, viz., Great Britain and the United States, are the great industrial magnates who, grown immensely rich from the accumulated profits of large scale production, have forced their way into the realm of high finance and, as bankers, have gained control of the vast liquid resources which the money-merchants handle. These capitalists have one concern above all others, and that is to sell an ever-increasing "output" of commodities on the world's markets. The more profits they make the greater becomes the surplus wealth, over and above their spending power, which they have to re-invest as fresh capital. This increase in their capital requires the sale of still more products and the earning of still more profits so that *the rate of profit*, or the interest on their money invested, may remain as high as before. So the vicious process goes on, speeding ever faster to the inevitable collapse of the whole capitalist system which the big financiers know is coming, but which they struggle frantically to postpone.

Quite recently a director of the biggest investment corporation in America, the Guaranty Trust Company, of New York, said :

> We should awake to the fact that we have outgrown our home markets, so that foreign trade on a large scale is absolutely essential for the continuance of our prosperity —(*Exporters' Review*, March, 1919.)

Recognising this force behind American commercial policy, and feeling already the terrific pressure which American competition is exerting on what were formerly British markets, the Department of Overseas Trade is making a great effort to secure in Russia a new market for British exports.

> "The United Kingdom," says the *Times Trade Supplement* (24/5/19), commenting on the new policy of the Department of Overseas Trade, "has lost markets to America and Japan during the war. The Russian is perhaps the only big world market which Britain is favourably situated for securing, and which can easily recompense her for the lost markets and more. If to-day Russia stood politically and economically in the position of Canada (a similar country physically) then she could import

goods to the value of £3,000,000,000 per year. Russia, it is contended, will make gigantic progress beyond her former agricultural position. In natural resources she is without rival in Europe."

"A Market Worth Going After."

What Russia needs most of all is railway material, that she may be able to transport foodstuffs and raw materials from the agricultural to the manufacturing areas and so feed and set to productive work her industrial population. Without railways, roads, and road and river vehicles, Russia can develop neither her agriculture, her trade, nor her manufactures. Given these, she can very rapidly become self-supporting and can give of her prodigious mineral and vegetable wealth a vast surplus for export to the rest of the world.

Next to railways and motor-transport, Russia requires agricultural implements—the Soviets have already tried to buy and deposited the money for 20,000 American farm-tractors. Then she needs milling plant, cold-storage facilities, saw-mills, and wood-working machinery. She wants electrical equipment for water-power production and distribution, lighting and transport. She wants textile machinery for her great cotton industry and mining machinery to develop "her enormous mineral resources."

Besides all these Russia as yet needs warm woollen clothing and boots, besides manufactured and tropical foodstuffs of many kinds.

These are just the commodities which British industry desires to export and, for the most part, they are just those which, once installed, would, under capitalist production for sale and export, soon make of the Russian peasant and the Russian worker a means of underselling and beating down the British Trade Unionist. "High finance" in undertaking the development of Russia intends to build big, avoiding the pettyness of British competitive capitalism and to inaugurate such "an era of industrialism in Russia as the world has never seen before."—(*Japan Salesman*, Nov., 1918.)

Before the war that era had already begun. "The growth of capital and of savings in Russia has in recent years been extremely rapid," says Mr. Raffalovitch, late Financial Attaché to the Russian Embassy in Paris. The funds at the disposal of the Russian money-market rose from 1,388,000,000 roubles in 1900 to 4,697,000,000 roubles in 1913. The yearly output of registered factories rose from 3,438,900,000 roubles in 1900 to 5,738,100,000 roubles in

1912, and the average number of men employed per shop from 62 to 98.

Capitalism had taken root. The beginnings of great industry were there when war broke out. They are there now with the added advantage to Allied capitalism that the Russian propertied classes can only hope to recover their land and factories and again become exploiters by the aid and as the financial vassals of London, New York, Paris, and Tokio.

What the Allied capitalists want is not only to get the interest on and the repayment of past loans and that opportunity to trade with Russia which Lenin and his colleagues are prepared to concede, but the opportunity to enter Russia and to work its 180,000,000 people under a despotism—however camouflaged—that would permit no industrial unionism, no working-class agitation, and no strikes, lest they might perhaps be revolutionary and subversive in their real aim and object. They would make of the Russians an empire of compulsory "blacklegs," of industrial conscripts. "Eastern Siberia," says *Dun's Review*, one of the chief trade organs of New York, "is advantageously placed as regards labour. There is an almost unlimited supply of Chinese and Korean workmen and Central Russia may be drawn upon to no little degree." The Chinese, according to the American *World Work*, one of whose publishers became Amercian Ambassador to this country, are "the most industrious quarter of the world's inhabitants"; according to the British Empire Producers' Organisation, they are "an admirable proletariat," and according to the *Bulletin* of the Federation of British Industries, they do unskilled work at 8d. a day!"

British Capitalism "discovers" the Russian Moujik.

The capitalists in large scale production are always seeking for new sources of raw material, whether mineral, vegetable or animal, and are as constantly disposed to work up on the spot through its initial and intermediate stages the material which they originally took away in its raw condition. Commanding great volumes of ready money, they secure a continuous supply of raw material by acquiring concessions whence they can either draw at their convenience or where they can erect and equip factories and workshops. The more intense becomes world competition the more avidly do the capitalists of highly developed countries strive to monopolise areas rich in natural wealth, fertile in land or possessed of a humble and thrifty peasantry ripe to be turned into a toolless working class.

Some ten years or so ago the British capitalists realised that they had, for the time being at any rate, put as much money into the development of the agriculture, timber and mineral resources of Canada and Argentina as those two regions could well absorb. The South and Central American countries were taking more manufactures from the United States whilst South Africa also had about as great a volume of investments as her mineral prosperity could carry.

The investment and contracting syndicates hereupon turned their eyes towards Russia, a mighty tract just becoming a promising market, just showing by its faltering bourgeois democracy and "Duma" that a middle class was coming into being. There was wealth, potential wealth, beyond the dreams of avarice.

But the Russians traded in the main with Germany, who supplied them with most of their manufactures and the greater part of their industrial investment capital. Russia was the vast continental market on which German capitalists had their eyes and which they meant to make peculiarly and in a monopolist sense their own. Britain and Germany, already on anything but friendly terms, were pushed into war by their desire to win Russia from each other. Tzardom, in its clumsy way, understood what a prize it had to offer and thought, by means of its alliance with Britain, to escape from the toils of Germany and, at the same time, play Britain and the other victorious Allies off one against the other in a new auction.

A Russo-British *entente* meant, first of all, that the task of reconstructing Russia's broken navy would become for the most part the work of British armament contractors. From 1908 to 1911 negotiations and arrangements were in hand. In 1908 or 1909 John Brown and Co., Ltd., secured the lease of two Russian navy yards at Petrograd, and the task of superintending the building of four new dreadnoughts. In 1911 John Brown and Co., Ltd., and Vickers, Ltd., secured dockyards on the Black Sea, at Nikoliaeff, and were entrusted with the building of new and up-to-date additions to the Black Sea Fleet. Then in 1913 Vickers, Ltd., together with all the big banks of Petrograd, obtained a concession to erect a huge military arsenal in the Donetz coal basin, on the Volga, at Tsaritzyn.

Other British engineering and shipbuilding concerns were to be found in other parts of Russia and the great armament interests were staking out a big claim in a country they meant not only to arm, but also to industrialise as much as they could.

Help and Help Yourself.

The measure of Vickers' enthusiasm for the "genuine" democratisation of Russia may be gathered from the activities of their European manager, Sir Francis H. Barker, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Russo-British Chamber of Commerce, who, presiding at the eighth monthly dinner of the British Russia Club, attended by Professor Miliukoff, and also Mr. Clement Edwards, M.P., ended his speech :

> "We wish success to Admiral Koltchak and General Denikin, and I think that I cannot do better than raise my glass and ask you all to drink to the health of Admiral Koltchak, General Denikin and General Yudevitch."—(Supplement to the *Russian Outlook*.)

His postprandial eloquence was stimulated, no doubt, by the knowledge that caused him to exclaim :

> "Russia is a great country. You all know, because you are intimately connected with it in your business, what the potentialities of Russia are, whether it be from the point of view of manufacture or the point of view of mineral wealth, or any other thing, because Russia has everything. . . . Now this is a country we ought to help."

So much for the self-styled "saviours of civilisation," the builders of submarines for the Central Powers, Messrs. Vickers, Ltd. Now for that great trading concern, Messrs. R. Martens and Co., Ltd., who used to publish *Russia*, and whose invaluable "Economic Map of the Russian Empire" has been of such splendid use to Wm. Paul and to myself. Messrs. R. Martens and Co., Ltd., is a mere name, a camouflage for Lady Rhondda, of the Consolidated Cambrian, Ltd., and other colliery interests in South Wales, who holds 10,800 out of some 18,000 shares.

R. Martens and Co., Ltd., are "shippers, exporters and engineers," and what they are doing in Petrograd, Archangel, Odessa, Baku, Omsk, and Vladivostock, South Wales miners may judge from the following :

> "Russia possesses investigated coal reserves second only to the United States. According to the estimate published by the International Geological Congress, she possesses in the Donetz basin (where General Denikin is operating) more than three times the reserves of anthracite of Great Britain and nearly twice the amount at the disposal of the United States."—(*Russia*, Vol. I, No. 3.)

"The Kunetz region is the largest coalfield in the world, and this site is also untouched. When it is remembered that in Siberia and the Urals Russia has practically an inexhaustible supply of iron ore, it will be realised what a great economic future awaits her as a whole."—(Professor of Economics in the Petrograd Institute, writing in *Russia,* Vol. I, No. 1.)

"Riga . . . a great mart for timber . . . pit props are exported in enormous quantities."—(*Commercial Russia,* W. H. Beable, 1918, p. 129.)

In view of these facts is there any wonder that the *Western Mail,* with its galaxy of Cardiff shipowning and coal-owning shareholders; the *Daily Express,* with Lord Joicey, John Cory, R. Radcliffe Cory, Lord Furness, H. Géthin Lewis, and other coal-owning notabilities amongst its proprietors; the *Daily Chronicle,* with Sir H. Dalziel and Sir H. Spicer, the paper king, or the *Sunday Times,* with Basil Zaharoff and the late Albert Vickers, should foam and froth at the very names of Lenin and Trotsky?

Churchill and Koltchak Crusading for Capitalism.

Nor is it the coalowners, armament firms and engineering concerns who alone toast Koltchak and Denikin and put up a prayer for the Russian workers to be delivered from Shop Steward Committees. There are the linen manufacturers of Ulster, Fife and Forfar who, knowing that 80 per cent. of their flax comes from Russia, cast anxious eyes towards the Baltic:

"In Western Europe and America the linen factories are supplied principally with Russian flax. . . . The position occupied by Russia as regards the supply of flax to the markets of the world is similar to that of the United States as regards cotton . . . other countries' attempts to defeat this position have not succeeded."—(*Russia: Its Trade and Commerce,* pp. 65-66.)

Then the timber merchants of the Forth and Tay ports, of Aberdeen and the North East Coast, prick up their ears at the news that

Russia is fortunate in possessing the largest reserves of timber in the world; the forest areas of the Russian Empire, exclusive of Finland, amount to over 1,337,000,000 acres, as compared with Canada with 800,000,000 acres, and the United States with 600,000,000 acres. . . . The Russian forests . . . include such important timber supplies as Baltic pine, white spruce, fir, Siberian pine, Eastern spruce, and Nordmann fir, as well as such hard woods as oak, ash, birch, etc. . . . The organisation of the timber industry in Russia, the development of lumber production and of the pulp industry will be three of the basic factors in Russia's economic reconstruction.—(*Russian Outlook,* No. 1, Vol. I.)

or, again, that

The possibility of obtaining a sufficiently large quantity of wood pulp and cellulose for the making of paper, etc., has an equally great importance for foreign manufacturers.—(*Russia: Its Trade and Commerce,* pp. 103-4.)

Rumours like these float in at the casement windows "o'er perilous seas from fairy lands forlorn," or run off the tape-machine in more prosaic fashion in the offices of the *Scotsman,* the *Glasgow Herald,* and the *Daily Record.* This is the stuff of which are made the dreams which chase one another through the buzzing brains of special correspondents and leader writers for the *Sunday Post Special* and the *Sunday Pictorial.*

How fast drive their spluttering pens, how their pencils plough the paper as they read:

The Urals are one of the most famous places in the world for iron. . . . Of special interest at the present time are the enormous beds of brown haematite in the Southern Urals.—(*Russia: Its Trade and Commerce,* p. 172.)

What need to ensure that Admiral Koltchak shall be maintained in Omsk and to bamboozle the British workers when

it has been estimated that the black-earth zone of the West Siberian Plains and the foothills of the Altai further East could, if properly cultivated, support five times the present population of European Russia.—(*Commercial Russia,* p. 152.)

If once the Bolsheviks establish themselves in that region and obtain the necessary agricultural implements, they will soon not only be in a position adequately to feed themselves, but will be unloading millions of bushels of surplus wheat, maize and other grains on to the world's markets not to "rig" them for profit, but to break and to beat down the infamous "corners" in foodstuffs maintained by the gamblers on American and West European Corn Exchanges. Indeed, "the foul baboonery" of the Bolsheviks must be broken!

That

Siberia, the most gigantic prize offered to the civilised world since the discovery of the Americas.—(*Bulletin,* Federation of British Industries.)

should fall into the hands of Peasants' and Workers' Committees to cultivate and develop for the well-being and the sustenance of the millions of Chicago-fed proletarians is unthinkable. An Anglo-American, a plutocrat-aristocrat, a Winston Churchill to the rescue! Anglo-American profiteering *must* be saved!

"The Heel of Democracy."

In the regions where Koltchak and Yudenitch are operating the raw materials so dearly coveted are, pre-eminently, timber, flax and precious metals. In the South of Russia, where Denikin is capitalism's "White (Terror) Hope," there is, in the Ukraine, Europe's greatest sugar-beet growing region; in Trans-Caucasia and elsewhere what is normally the third largest tobacco producing area in the world; in Ekateroslav, near the Sea of Azof, the finest manganese deposits hitherto discovered. In the Ukraine also are the fertile black-soil regions, famed for their wheat harvests. But between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, and North-eastwards around the shores of the latter, in a land where practically every known mineral is to be found, there are the fabulous petroleum-bearing *strata* of Maikop, Grosny, Apsheron and Baku.

> "In oil Baku is uncomparable," says a well-known British expert in petroleum and its industries, "and I know of no oil city that will compare with its subterranean wealth. . . . Baku is greater than any other oil city in the world. If oil is king, Baku is its throne."—(*The Near East*, 23/5/19.)

And the influences that have been and are at work to maintain British soldiers and patrol boats on the Caspian Sea as well as to provide General Denikin with vast stores of munitions, with guns, and with tanks may be judged from the following lengthy but highly-instructive quotation from the speech of the chairman of the *Bibi Eibat Oil Co., Ltd.*, at its last annual meeting:

> "In the Caucasus, from Batoum on the Black Sea, eastwards to Baku on the Caspian, and from Vladikavkas southwards to Tiflis; Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Persia, British forces have made their appearance and have been welcomed by nearly every race and creed who look to us to free them—some from the Turkish yoke and some from that of Bolshevism. The only fly in the ointment is the usual weak-kneed attitude of our own Government, who, cowed by the little England attitude of the masses, have lost no time in announcing that the entry of our troops into these regions implies no intention of permanent occupation. *Never before in the history of these islands was there such an opportunity for the peaceful penetration of British influence and British trade for the creation of a second India or a second Egypt, but the feeble voices of our politicians, under the heel of democracy, drown all such aspirations*, and I fear we can take little comfort from the half-promise that the future of Caucasia is to be considered by the Peace Conference. The oil industry of Russia, liberally financed and properly organised under British auspices, would in itself be a valuable asset to the Empire. . . . Russia's oil industry is still, granted normal conditions, the second greatest in the world, and a golden opportunity offers itself at the present moment to the British Government to exercise a powerful influence upon the immense production of the Grosny, Baku and Trans-Caspian fields. . . . *It is an opportunity that our enemy, the Germans, were eager to seize upon directly they thought they were masters of the situation, and I wish I could think that the lesson might not be lost on our own political rulers.*—(*Petroleum World*, Jan., 1919.)

That naked avowal of Hunnish sympathies, that frank denunciation of "the heel of democracy," comes not from an insignificant nobody but from Mr. Herbert Allen, director of four important Anglo-Russian petroleum companies. In two of these directorships he presides over Captain R. W. Barnett, M.P., and Sir W. W. Rutherford, M.P.

There is quite an array of influential politicians, newspaper proprietors and bankers interested as directors in these Caucasian oilfields, notably:

Sir J. S. Harmood Banner, M.P. (Three large companies).
Captain R. W. Barnett M.P., (Five companies).
Colonel R. H. Rawson, M.P. (two companies).
W. W. Rutherford, M.P. (two companies).
Earl of Carrick (two companies).
Lord Tenterden (one company).
Lord Grimston (one company).
E. Caillard, of the *Sunday Times, Ltd.* (North Caspian Oil Corporation Ltd.).
Davison Dalziel, of the *Daily Express* (Chairman of the Cheleken Oilfields, Ltd.).
A. W. Kerly, of the Famous-Lasky Film Service, Ltd. (North Caucasian Oilfields, Ltd.).
Hon. R. Parker, of Hannevig's Bank (Ural Caspian Oil Corporation, Ltd.).
Hon. S. P. Bouverie, of Barclay's Bank (Ural Caspian Oil Corporation, Ltd.).
G. S. Gulbenkian, of National Bank of Turkey (Ural Caspian Oil Corporation, Ltd.).
M. Grancini, of C. J. Hambro and Son (Caspian Copper Co.).
J. A. Bryce, of London, County, Westminster and Parrs Bank (Spies Petroleum Co., Ltd.).
F. Straker, of Barclay's Bank and Straker and Love's Collieries (North Caucasian Oilfields, Ltd.).
A. Serena, of the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders (Kuban Black Sea Oilfields Co., Ltd.).
G. P. Sechiari, of Rodocanachi Sons and Co. (Cheleken Oilfields Co., Ltd.).

Oilfields constitute, perhaps, the most attractive of all Russian investments hitherto favoured by the money-lending public, and it is undoubtedly the desire of the "Standard Oil" interests to keep a watch on the Caucasian and Persian petroleum fields that, in large measure, explains the humanitarian propaganda for a United States "mandate" under the League of Nations to care for the tormented peoples of Armenia.

National Democrats and International Dividends.

But the whole future of finance in connection with export and import trade, with exploitation and investment, has become the increasing concern of the most powerful of the British and American banks and investment corporations.

Practically all the big British banks have interested themselves in the Russian field as agents of Petrograd and Moscow financial houses, as stock-holders in Russian banks and trusts, or as shareholders in Russian mining and industrial syndicates. We have already seen Lloyds Bank and the London County Westminster and Parrs Bank represented on the Russian bondholders committee. Mr. J. W. Tritton of Barclay's Bank, was appointed honorary treasurer to the Russo-British Chamber of Commerce, and that great banking house is now acting as the Allies' or, at any rate, the British Government's, (nominally "the native Government's") financial agent at Archangel.

The managing director of Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Mr. Henry Bell, is continuously and very closely associated with Mr. Clement Edwards, Mr. J. F. Green, Mr. Matt Simm, and other leading luminaries of the National Democratic Party in their campaign against Bolshevism. He was a "star" speaker at their recent conference in the Central Hall, Westminster, on May 27.

Lloyds Bank, Ltd., acts as London agent of

The Russian and English Bank,
The Russian Commercial and Industrial Bank,

and is very heavily interested in the British Bank for Foreign Trade, formerly known as the Anglo-Russian Bank.

Barclay's Bank, by its recent amalgamations and absorptions, has come to be a powerful stock-holder in several Russian banking concerns, notably:

The Russo-Asiatic Corporation (4,633 shares).
The Anglo-Russian Trust (17,150 shares),

as well as shareholder in the Kyshtim Corporation, Ltd. (7,980 shares), the Russian Mining Corporation, Ltd., (2,750 shares).

The London Joint City and Midland Bank, besides acting as London agent of

The Moscow Narodny Bank,
La Banque de Moscow,
La Banque Industrielle de Moscow,
The Russian Corporation, Ltd.;

is a shareholder in

The British Bank for Foreign Trade (3,000 shares).
The Russo-Asiatic Corporation (11,060 shares).
Russian Corporation, Ltd. (40,400 shares).
Kyshtim Corporation, Ltd. (6,128 shares).
Irtysh Corporation, Ltd. (12,950 shares).
Russian Mining Corporation, Ltd. (3,105 shares).
Russian and Eastern Agency, Ltd. (6,678 shares).
Spassky Copper Co., Ltd. (1,378 shares).
Tanalyk Corporation, Ltd. (4,649 shares).
Sissert Corporation, Ltd. (3,275 shares).
Black Sea Amalgamated Oilfields, Ltd. (5,165 shares).
European Oilfields Corporation, Ltd. (8,000 shares)

and, doubtless, dozens of other Russian companies whose share lists we have not inspected.

The London County Westminster and Parrs Bank, Ltd., acts as agent of

La Banque de Moscow,
La Banque Industrielle de Moscow;

and is interested in

Russo-Asiatic Corporation (9,326 shares).
Anglo-Russian Trust (5,000 shares).
Kyshtim Corporation, Ltd. (2,792 shares).
Lena Goldfields, Ltd. (2,916 shares).
Tanalyk Corporation, Ltd. (1,000 shares), etc., etc.

Wha Daur Meddle Wi' Us?

Six of the Scottish banks have very large holdings in Mr. Leslie Urquhart's mining trio, the Irtysh, Kyshtim, and Tanalyk Corporations.

Bank of Scotland: Irtysh Corporation (1,245 shares).
Royal Bank of Scotland: Irtysh Corporation (3,880 shares), Kyshtim Corporation (1,300 shares), Tanalyk Corporation (6,390 shares).
National Bank of Scotland: Kyshtim Corporation (1,020 shares). Tanalyk Corporation (2,240 shares).
Commercial Bank of Scotland: Irtysh Corporation (1,580 shares).
British Linen Bank: Irtysh Corporation (1680 shares), Kyshtim Corporation (1,270 shares), Tanalyk Corporation (3,520 shares).
Clydesdale Bank: Irtysh Corporation (2,000 shares), Tanalyk Corporation (4,940 shares).

This fact, together with the presence of the inevitable Mr. Brown Dunlop, of the ever-present First, Second and Third Edinburgh Investment Trusts, and also the Commercial and the Royal Banks of Scotland on the board or in the share list of the Russian Corporation, Ltd., may account for the enthusiastic anti-Bolshevism of the Edinburgh capitalists.

With all this array of banks, investment companies, mining concessionaires, industrial corporations and trading interests involved in or scouting after the exploitation of Great Russia; with their desperate need of finding someone whose labour when applied to the forces and treasures of nature will yield sufficient tribute to relieve them of paying for the war; with the boundless resources over which we have caught them rhapsodising in enthusiastic anticipation, is there any wonder that the capitalists demand and insist on armed and financial assistance being rendered to Koltchak, Yudenitch and Denikin?

"All the Forces of the State."

Is it to be marvelled at that Sir Eric Geddes, shareholder in the Kyshtim Corporation; Mr. Walter Long, shareholder in the Anglo-Russian Trust; Mr. Austen Chamberlain, promoter and former director of the Russian and English Bank, and shareholder in the Sissert Mining Company; or Lord Reading, who appears with Carl Neumann, Carl Kipp, Sigmund Weil, the Dresdner and the Direktion der Disconto Gesellschaft Banks, as one of the interesting names in the latest share list of the Spassky Copper Co., Ltd., should be in favour of burdening the British Treasury with advances to Tzarist generals, one of whom returned the Spassky mine to its exploiters as soon as he recovered it from the Soviets?

Can anyone be surprised at the howls that issue forth from the *Dundee Courier*, the *Daily Mail* or the *Daily Express* when he reads the name of the Alliance Trust, Ltd., Meadowside, Dundee, in share list after share list when he discovers that Sir J. R. Ellerman, of the Ellerman-Wilson Line of steamers trading to the Baltic, is one of the largest shareholders in the Harmsworth newspapers, and that Lord Joicey and Mr. Davison Dalziel are lamenting the non-arrival of their dividends on petroleum?

There is an old saying, "Wheresoever the carcase is, there shall ye find the eagles gathered together," and another, equally true, runs, "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"

What else can the workers expect from the golden hog, capitalism, but to discover it rooting and grunting in search of human flesh?

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

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